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CONTENTS OF THIS ISSUE.

	PAGE
Editorial Notes	113
GENERAL ARTICLES	
The Elections and the Future—A Populist's Duty..	117
PEOPLES PARTY NEWS	
By Special Correspondents.....	120
BOOK REVIEWS	
Present Social and Economic Conditions Among American Producers.....	121
The Fighting Boer.....	122
Shall This Be Our Chinese Policy?.....	123
A Friendly View of Caesar.....	123
Briefer Notices	124
In the Literary World.....	127

CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

PEOPLES PARTY TICKET.

For President . . WHARTON BARKER, Pennsylvania.

For Vice-President . IGNATIUS DONNELLY, Minnesota.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

INDICATIONS are many that the anthracite coal operators are on the point of surrendering to the miners. It would be easier for some of them if, a couple of weeks since, they had not vehemently asserted that they would never give in, could not afford to meet the demands of the miners, that, to use the words

Humbling of the Coal Operators.

of Calvin Pardee, "no one but a fool would make such demands as those made by the leaders of the mine workers' association." And to now grant demands, or consider the granting

of demands that they declared but a couple of weeks ago no one but a fool would make, requires a rather humbling eating of words. Surrender is hard and bitter to them. They themselves made it so. But they feel the necessity.

Of course they seek to avoid unconditional surrender, seek to get their miners back to work without conceding to them all their demands. Seeing the necessity of surrender to serve their own interests, they strive to secure the best terms possible. Naturally, but not wisely, they want to make as few concessions as possible. We say naturally, because it is human nature to squeeze. We say not wisely because it is not wisdom to squeeze.

The employer who voluntarily grants the workman what is fair will do better than the employer from whom the workman must wring concessions. The workman who is given fair and liberal treatment will be a more satisfactory and prove a cheaper workman, than the one whose relations with his employer are not cordial.

The coal operators would do well to take this truth to heart. And they could not make a better beginning than by frankly recognizing the United Mine Workers' Union and arranging terms of settlement through it. Even though the strikers do not demand such recognition, even if the strike leaders, the officers of the union, wave such demand, the operators, for their own good, should swallow their false pride, and recognize it. For that labor union can serve them as well as its own members, can further the interests of the operators, can make easier sailing for them. The bituminous operators have found this out and their relations with the officers of the union are cordial. Terms of settlement between the anthracite operators and miners can be more easily, more satisfactorily, more promptly arranged through this organization than in any other way. But the operators seem disposed to let a sentimental stubbornness, a determination not to recognize the union, stand in the way of such settlement.

AT THIS writing there is uncertainty as to just how far the operators are now ready to go in the granting of concessions to end the strike, and there is some doubt as to the honesty of the steps they have already taken. Many are inclined to look upon the concessions that some of the companies have posted as decoy ducks. But the chances of an early settlement are bright and it is not impossible that before the end of another week the strike will be formally declared off.

The operators certainly show a disposition to give up, to surrender. They feel they are beaten, their interests dictate the making of a settlement on the best terms they can get. They did not believe the United Mine Workers' Union could tie up the anthracite fields. They knew but a small percentage of the miners were members of that Union and they did not believe its orders would be obeyed by the non-union workmen. But they

Firmness of the Strikers.

have discovered that they erred greatly in their judgment. The general response of the miners to the order to strike astonished them, the firmness of the ranks of the strikers, the completeness of the tie-up by the end of the first week of the strike, the fact that no breaks in the strikers' ranks followed upon the sending of troops to the Shenandoah district, and, finally, their failure to cause a break in those ranks by posting notices of an advance of wages at many of the collieries, has filled them with greater astonishment.

Troops were sent to Shenandoah on the heels of a riot and the strike grew fast after they came, faster for their very coming. Peace has ruled in their presence, and it cannot be fairly said only because of their presence; no disturbances are threatened, one regiment has already been sent home, the early withdrawal of the remainder is in contemplation. And in the upper and middle anthracite fields no excuse has been given for a call for troops. The strikers have preserved order, shown firmness and confidence. And in the face of this show the operators have lost their confidence.

As we have said, many of them granting an advance in wages of ten per cent. caused notices thereof to be posted at their collieries. They thought this concession would bring the miners

Concessions of the Operators.

back to their work. But to their disappointment it did not. The miners looked rather askance at these notices. They want assurance

that the rise will be allowed in all districts, by all operators, before they go back to work, for they know full well that if some operators held out those operators who granted an advance would, upon resumption of work generally in the coal fields, promptly withdraw it so that they might put themselves on the same com-

Position of the Miners.

peting basis with those who held out. And the fact that the posting of this concession in part to one of the wage demands of the strikers was

not universal caused them to look askance at it, as a concession of a mere temporary nature made to break the strike. So they hold firm ranks and wait on another move by the operators which is not likely to be long delayed.

THE operators are bungling in their efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike and evincing a general bitterness in their defeat that will not help them. The short cut to such settlement is recognition of the Mine Workers' Union. They are injuring themselves by not taking it. But of this we have already spoken. The sympathy of

The Operators and the Public.

the public has been with the strikers, and now

that the operators feel forced to concede an advance of wages to the miners, they snarlingly declare that the "dear public" will have to pay it. Remarked a director of the Jersey Central Railroad in response to a reporter's inquiry: "Well, I will tell you one thing, the increase in miners' wages will have to be paid by the consumer. Be sure of that. The 'dear public,' which means you and me and everyone who burns anthracite coal, will have to pay the advance."

If the price of coal be advanced and that advance be added to the rather slim earning of the miners, the public will not begrudge it. But let it be remembered that the labor cost of a ton of coal at the mines, and according to the operators' own statements, is from 90 cents to \$1.00 a ton. An advance in the wages of the miners of ten per cent. would then add to the cost of producing a ton of coal only 9 or 10 cents. Let the operators make no greater advance in the price of coal to the retailers. If, having granted a ten per cent. rise in wages, they advance the price of coal more than this, we may know they are making the rise in wages an excuse for further squeezing the public.

Further, let it be said that while the profits to the independent operator in mining coal may not be large, the profits of the

coal carrying roads in the carriage of anthracite coal are enormous. As compared to the charges made on bituminous coal, they charge three freights on anthracite. It is said by those who declare that an increase in the miners' wages will have to be paid by the consumer, that "for years the coal fields owned by the railroads have paid them little or nothing, and collieries have sometimes been run at a loss." But this statement, though it can be backed up by the books of the coal companies, is grossly misleading. The coal companies owned by the railroads have paid them little or nothing as companies, but have paid them enormously in excessive freight rates. It is through such excessive freight rates that the railroads choose to take the profits of their coal fields. And why? Because it gives them the opportunity to take the profits of the private coal fields without discriminating against them in the eye of the law.

WHEN, after long delay, and on the eve of the Democratic notification meeting at Indianapolis, Mr. Towne, with many expressions of esteem, refused the nomination tendered him by the

Sioux Falls Convention of the Fusion Populist lists, three months before, the National Committee of that organization was promptly called to meet in Chicago. This committee when it met formally named Adlai E. Stevenson as

the Vice-Presidential candidate of their party in place of Mr. Towne, resigned, and in due season addressed to Mr. Stevenson a letter of notification. And now we have Mr. Stevenson's response. Acknowledging the nomination conferred upon him as an honor he accepts it, for he is no more averse than Mr. Bryan to running on two tickets, or for that matter on any number of tickets, provided those tendering him the honor do so in such a way as not to require him to subscribe to any conditions, or compromise himself with his own party in accepting. And in accepting this nomination Mr. Stevenson does not accept it on the platform promulgated by the Sioux Falls Convention. The committee, in tendering him the nomination, did not require him to. He does not subscribe to doctrines of populism that found place in that platform nor does he repudiate them. He merely says that "upon the important questions of finance, of domestic administration and of reform in our methods of taxation, the platform of the Peoples party (the Fusionists) gives no uncertain sound."

Whether this "sound" is agreeable to him or not he does not hint. He is careful not to compromise himself with Democratic voters by expressing approval of any of the demands of

the Sioux Falls platform that are not approved by the Democratic platform. He accepts the nomination on the "overshadowing issue of imperialism,"

He makes this the text of his letter of very moderate length. And he does not present the case for the anti-imperialists badly. Indeed this, speaking of the war in the Philippines, is well put. "Why this war?" he asks. "What is to be our justification at the bar of history? All mere words and glorification of the flag aside, the sad fact remains that it is purely a war of conquest—a war of subjugation against a people who, as has been eloquently said, 'In their struggle for independence have interposed the declaration of Jefferson as a shield against the attacks of his own countrymen.'" And again, speaking of the general Philippine policy of the Administration: "It means the adoption by the American people of the colonial methods of European monarchies. It means the right to hold alien peoples as subjects. It enthrones force as the controlling agency in government. In a word, it foreshadows the empire."

THE National Party, that handful of anti-imperialists who, while utterly repudiating McKinley, have been unable to see

their way to support Mr. Bryan, has been left without a ticket.

The National Party.

Feeling the country was threatened "with alternate perils" in the election of Bryan or McKinley, and that they could conscientiously support neither, yet that they must give voice to their protest against imperialism on one side and "demagogic appeals to factional and class passions" on the other, these ardent anti-imperialists and no less ardent gold men and tariff reformers held a mass convention of small proportions in New York City early in September and nominated a presidential ticket—Senator Caffery of Louisiana for President and one Archibald Murray Howe of Massachusetts for Vice-President. But they did not secure the consent of Senator Caffery to the use of his name before nominating him, and now they have been left without a ticket. For Senator Caffery, though in sympathy with their movement, did not think highly enough of the empty honor they sought to confer on him to accept it. He begged off, declined the nomination. And the Vice-Presidential candidate, seeing the ticket left without a head, and there being no probability of a head being supplied, felt that under the circumstances there was nothing left for him but to come down as a candidate.

But these anti-imperialists who have chosen to isolate themselves and have been left without a ticket have not given up the idea of registering a protest at the polls as an independent party organization. They have resolved on a peculiar scheme. In such states as they have the means it is their purpose to name just one elector, who will be unpledged to any candidate as the "Constitution intended electors should be." And then they propose to ask the gold anti-imperialists who have resolved to vote for Bryan, not that he is not distasteful to them on many

Its Odd Programme.

scores, but that they regard imperialism as the overshadowing danger and feel that the only effective way to make their votes count against imperialism is to cast them for Bryan, to divide their vote—register their distrust of Mr. Bryan by voting for this one elector and at the same time give him effective support by voting for all but one of the Bryan electors. Thus in New York there are thirty-six electors to be voted for and this is an appeal to the gold anti-imperialists, who have determined to vote for Bryan to make their votes count, to vote for but thirty-five of the Bryan electors and for the unpledged elector of the National party—an appeal to throw just one vote away for principle. This plan, where put into working order by the placing of the name of an unpledged elector on the official ballot, and this is not likely to be done in many states, will not, we fancy, attract many gold anti-imperialists.

DURING the last session of Congress Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, made a speech in which he painted the wealth of the Philippines in glowing colors, declared their value to us as a point of vantage for opening up China and extending our trade in the Orient was inestimable, and made this an argument for conquering them. They were rich, they would be of value to us and therefore we should seize them.

Senator Beveridge on the Stump.

Now in this speech Senator Beveridge put the commercial argument for holding the Philippines rather strongly and several hundred thousand copies were printed for campaign distribution. But after all it was a purely sordid argument that he presented, the Republican National Committee came to the conclusion that its spreading would do harm rather than good from a party standpoint and caused the copies of this speech that had been prepared for campaign distribution to be burned. This, at least, is the published story and we have no reason to doubt it. But Senator Beveridge has gone on the stump and in the name of trade is justifying conquest. He seems rather inculcated with the idea that valuable trade is to be won at the cannon's mouth

and that we ought to go after it, even to the establishment of a colonial empire, as England, Germany, France. The Republican National Committee would do well to call him down. He started in at Chicago by declaring that Congress made a great mistake in ever promising Cuba independence. Our trade interests would be benefited by its annexation and it ought to be annexed. It was a great pity we had embarrassed ourselves by promising Cuba independence. Such a speech and such expression of sentiment give resting ground for Mr. Bryan's assertion, that while the declared policy of the Republican party in regard to Cuba is like that of the Democracy, the Republican party cannot be trusted to faithfully carry such policy out, that if the people of this country would not see a breach of faith towards Cuba they must put the Democracy in power. It may be that Senator Beveridge's Chicago speech, in which he voiced such sentiments, made votes for McKinley, but we would rather regard it as a vote loser.

BUT let us follow Senator Beveridge a little further and into the further West on his stumping tour. We find him harping continually on the commercial argument. America produces more than she can consume. She has ability to consume only eighty per cent. of what she has power to produce. Therefore we must seek foreign markets. "The whole problem of prosperity to-day and for all future, consists in finding and securing to ourselves foreign markets for what we produce in factory and on farm more than we ourselves consume."

So he declared in an address at Kansas City. And at the same time, in a speech in Philadelphia, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts was making much the same line of argument, only building from a premise more exaggerated. He said that our mills and factories had the capacity to produce in six months what the American people could consume in twelve. Therefore foreign markets must be opened or for half the year our mills must be closed, the mill workers idle. And the Philippines offered us a wedge by which to open up markets in China. How fortunate that they had fallen into our possession! And would not we hold them to save our people from idleness!

So he argued, as Senator Beveridge argued. Both argued from the assumption that the American people do not and cannot consume that which they can produce. Beveridge declared that we are able to consume but 80 per cent., Lodge, but a bare half, 50 per cent. of that which we can produce; that extension of foreign markets is a necessity to us. And both look to China for such markets. But their reasoning is shallow. Trade with foreign countries is but an exchange of products. And if in that exchange countries

Shallowness of the Reasoning.

do not get things which can be got in that way at less labor expenditure then they can produce such things for themselves at home, it is not to the interest of anyone to encourage such trade. In our own case, for example, we certainly don't want to send our products out if we get nothing back in payment—unless we get back in payment things of greater value to us than those we send out. And when we get back in payment these things, what are we to do with them? We must consume them, that is find a market for them, to get any value out of them. And we are told the consuming power of our people is exhausted in the purchase of 80 per cent. of what our mills can produce, according to Beveridge; 50 per cent. according to Lodge. And if this is so, how could we consume the foreign produce we should take in payment for the things we sent out? Obviously we could not, and if we could not, we could not trade, for the piling up of such goods in unsalable stocks would force us to restrict our import

Says Our Prosperity at Home is Dependent on Opening Markets Abroad.

Senator Lodge's Presentation of the Same Argument as Reason for Pursuit of a Predatory Policy.

trade, as well as hang a deadening pall over our domestic industry.

Of course, as a debtor nation, we are required to send out much produce to make settlement of payments on account of such debt. But, after all, our foreign trade is and must be an exchange of products. And for what we send out we must get something back, so that in the long run an expansion of exports means an expansion of imports. And of course the reverse of this is true. Producing and consuming power must balance. It is absurd to speak of a country being able to produce more than it can consume. Under a proper system, consuming power, to which no limit can be placed, will grow with producing power. In our country we are now told our consuming power does not equal our producing, according to one authority referred to, by 50 per cent.; according to another, by 20 per cent. But there would be no difficulty over the consumption of that which our labor may produce if it was justly distributed. The question of consumption is one of distribution. If there is injustice in the distribution of that which is produced, there will come congestion, even while the workers may want, and we will have at times what men call over-production. Let there be justice in distribution and we will never suffer from over-production, no matter how fast our producing power may increase, for then increase of producing power will mean increase of consuming.

PEACE prospects are brightening in China. The Empress has, far from conferring added honors on Prince Tuan as reported, degraded him and ordered him to trial. Thus, instead of confronting the Powers on the eve of peace negotiations by appointing Tuan, declared to be notoriously the abettor of the Boxers in their attacks upon the legations at Peking, to new place and power, she has propitiated them by stripping him of his powers. The main body of Russian troops has withdrawn from Peking, together with M. de Giers, the Russian minister. That gentleman has gone to Tien-Tsin and is reported as having begun negotiations with Li Hung Chang, who has halted in that city, with a view to securing a settlement of Russia's claims against China. By this move Russia has turned a corner on the Powers, especially those insisting on the return of the Empress to Peking as a pre-requisite to a beginning of negotiations, a most unreasonable requirement and one not likely to be complied with for, as General Chaffee is reported as saying: "I do not believe that any European monarch would enter the camp of his allied enemies, and I doubt that the Empress Dowager will do so." In short, Russia has broken away from the concert of the Powers, and when later the Powers see fit to begin negotiations they may find that Russia has made a compact with China that will stand in the way of said Powers making any unreasonable demands. The American forces, save a legation guard of rather impressive strength, have also been withdrawn from Peking, and it is to be supposed that either at Peking or Tien-Tsin Minister Conger will soon begin negotiations looking to the settlement of our claims. What the other Powers propose to do is not clear. But it is probable that if they or any of them have harbored plans for the dismemberment of China, or the destruction of the political entity of China in any way, that they feel they have been effectually checkmated and will revise such plans.

AN interesting letter of Mrs. Conger, the wife of our minister, in which the story of the siege of the legations is told as seen from the inside, a letter started a few days before the beginning of the siege, and added to at various intervals during its continuance, was made public last Saturday by her sister in Des Moines, Iowa, to whom it was addressed. On the 4th of June she wrote, showing a clear discernment of the causes of the then impending

ing troubles, and a conception of Chinese character that is rare, as follows:

"China does not like foreigners, and would like to be left to herself. Foreigners are determined not to let her alone. They make inroads and demands in many ways. What will be the outcome remains to be seen. The whole of North China is in unrest.

"The Chinese are a strange people to foreigners, and cannot as yet be understood. The more I see of them and the more I study them the more I see that they have methods in their doings. Their methods are unknown to the foreigners as yet, and it seems to me they always will be unknown to them, because mortal mind holds a very different phase or side to these people. Their whole line of thinking seems to be locked from the foreigners. The Chinese character is a sealed book, with many secret fastenings. Strange! strange! But no less strange is the foreigner and his ways to the Chinese.

"Our ways are to us the best. Their ways are to them the best. My dear sister, between you and me, I think them an abused people. I cannot see that they are any better off for having this foreign element coming in upon them."

The woman that wrote this ought to be a member of the American Commission to arrange terms of a settlement with China.

THE British elections run over a period of two weeks. Different days are fixed for the pollings in the various constituencies. And in those constituencies in which only one candi-

The British Elections.

date is announced, and in which there is no contest, there are no pollings held at all. The returns from the early pollings indicate that the majority that the Unionists had in the last Parliament will be maintained in the new, neither increased or decreased. There is no evidence of any reaction against imperialism. Indeed, many of the Liberals standing for seats are running as avowed imperialists, and are expected to stand in with the Government on South African questions. The voters of Battersea, London, in returning the labor leader and socialist, John Burns, to Parliament, did, indeed, administer a rebuke to the imperialists who made a bitter fight against him. But this stands out quite alone. The workmen generally have not so asserted themselves, even in the constituencies that they might control. The "Investors' Review" of London sings the plaint taken up by many Liberals that "when it is all over with this South African conflict and an uneasy peace has succeeded months of activity, murder and rapine, we may safely reckon that the national debt will be increased by a round £100,000,000?" And the blame, the responsibility for this lies with the Salisbury Government. But the British electorate does not turn from his support because of this.

The appointment of Lord Roberts as commander-in-chief of the British army by Lord Salisbury comes as a well-timed campaign stroke. For his appointment is regarded as an assurance of army reform, is popular, and redounds to the advantage of the Government that made it.

The Cheapest Homeseekers' Excursions of the Year.

On October 2 and 16 the Great Rock Island Route will sell round trip tickets from Chicago at following rates: To Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo, \$27.00; to Kansas and Nebraska, \$15.00; to Oklahoma and Indian Territory, \$17.00. Return limit 21 days. The Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Reservations in Oklahoma will be thrown open for settlement next spring. These will comprise over 2,000,000 acres for public entry, providing over 12,000 homesteads of 160 acres each and 10,000 mineral claims. The Great Rock Island Route is the only line reaching this splendid district. If you want a fertile farm accompany one of these cheap excursions and inspect the country. The information gained will be of service when the Reservations are opened. For full information address John Sebastian, G. P. A., Chicago.—*Adv.*

THE ELECTIONS AND THE FUTURE—A POPULIST'S DUTY.

ELECTION forecasting is a risky business, but it will be of use at this time to point a duty. In 1896 McKinley's majority in the electoral college was 95, he receiving 271 votes to 176 cast for Mr. Bryan. This year the electoral college, that creature of the Constitution that does not fill the place it was intended to, will be composed of the same number of electors—447.

In passing we may remark that in using this bit of election machinery we cling to the letter of the Constitution while ignoring the spirit. The modern convention has largely taken the place of the electoral college. That the electoral college might be kept as free as possible from the office-holding influence the Constitution provided that no office-holder should be chosen as an elector. It would be well if the same rule was applied to the membership of the party conventions that have come to do in fact that which the electoral college was designed to do. If the membership of the conventions were chosen under such rule it might be they would be more independent of party bossism. At least it would be harder for the party bosses, who would have to act from the outside, to direct them. Such a rule was, indeed, promulgated by the Peoples Party Convention at Omaha in 1892. If it had been faithfully observed it is likely much trouble would have been avoided. But it was ignored, there followed a controlling of conventions in the interest of office-holders and a disrupting of the party.

However, exclusion of office-holders from the membership of conventions would be at best but a palliative for evils complained of. It would not put an end to the manipulation of conventions by party bosses and in the interest of a corrupting minority. It is true that the exclusion of the office-holding element from conventions would make it harder for the party bosses to control them, for they would have to act from the outside. But, harder though it might be made for them, they would likely secure control none the less. Party bossism has grown and flourished under the convention system. It will continue to flourish and parties continue prone to control in the interest of the corrupting few, and to the sacrifice of the uncorrupting many, until the convention is abolished, as Populists have proposed, and the people given power, or take the power, to nominate candidates for office by direct vote, through the primaries. This very system of direct nomination, by the way, and as a substitute for the party convention, has been formally approved by the Republicans of Wisconsin in state convention, and their candidate for Governor made a name for himself and, indeed, won the nomination as its pronounced champion.

The Electoral College.

But to return from this diversion. It was not intended by the framers of the Constitution that the electoral college should be a mere recording body as it has become. It was the intention that the selection of the President should fall to the membership of the electoral college and the expectation that the electors would exercise their best judgment in making that selection. But such selection, or rather the choice of two or three candidates from whom the people may select, is now virtually made by the party conventions. Indeed, the electoral college now fills in our electoral system the place of but a crude bit of election machinery that we ought to get rid of. For if we do not it may sometime cause us great trouble. The selection of a President from among the candidates chosen by party conventions is now virtually made by popular vote. The people expect that in this final choice their voice shall be regarded just as if they voted by direct vote. Indeed, they regard themselves as voting for President, not as voting for electors to choose a President. We speak of our purpose to vote for this man or that man for President, not of for this or that set of electors, which in form is

what we have to do, yet which is not practically, for the electors for whom we formally vote are pledged to the Presidential candidates of our choice. Yet this electoral machinery is such that under certain circumstances, readily conceivable, it might result in a signal balking of the popular will. It ought to be abolished and the direct vote substituted in its place before it give trouble.

However, we have, for the time being, to take things as they are. In the estimation of the great body of our people there is a direct vote for President, though in form there is not—a direct vote only qualified in practice by the fact that the vote in each state must be kept distinct, the proportionate voice to which each state is entitled in the selection of a President being thrown to that candidate who may receive the most votes, regardless of how small may be his plurality or large his majority. The form is, of course, the election of electors, each state being entitled to the same number of electors as it is entitled to members in Congress, both Senators and Representatives. This necessarily gives to the smaller states an undue voice in the selection of President, but the resulting inequality is not so great, or does it weigh enough in determining results, to cause much comment even in the larger states—though this may be in a measure because of familiarity with the practice.

Now of these electors there are 447 to be chosen in the 45 states of the Union, the same number as in 1896. With the new apportionment of representatives in Congress that must follow the taking of the census of the present year the total number will very likely be changed as well as the apportionment among the states. And this new apportionment, if the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution is regarded, will result in a serious cutting down of the representation of several of the southern states which have disfranchised large classes of their citizens, not all negroes. However, we have not at present to do with this. The present total of electors is 447. Of this number a candidate to be successful in the electoral college must receive 224 votes, a bare majority. If no candidate receive such vote, a majority of the whole, the House of Representatives, each state delegation voting as a unit and having one vote, must choose the President from the three candidates receiving the highest vote in the electoral college. The present House of Representatives, voting by states, would have a Republican majority of 7, the Republicans having the whole or a majority of the delegations representing 26 of the states, and the Democrats controlling the delegations of 19 states.

Of course, if the whole electoral vote is divided between McKinley and Bryan there will be a choice in the electoral college. For in that case one or the other must get a majority of the electoral vote. If the Populists should carry Georgia and Texas, or even Georgia alone, the electoral vote would be divided between three candidates, and it might be so divided that there would be no choice for a President by the electoral college. If so the whole weakness of the electoral college as a bit of electoral machinery would be shown up, and perhaps impetus given to the demand for its abolition. Great would be the temptation to which the minority electors would be subjected in such case to break their pledges. And it is wrong that our elective machinery should be such that it might subject men to such temptation. To keep such electoral machinery is to trifle with fate, play with fire. But further pursuit of this subject is not called for at this time. Two things have we pointed to, the need of the abolition of the convention and the electoral college—all in the interest of popular government, for the abolition of clique rule, the cutting of the roots of corruption. Now to proceed.

Mr. Bryan's Chances.

As we have said McKinley's majority of the electoral vote in 1896 was 95. The total electoral vote this year will be the same as that four years ago. Obviously to be elected, for he must be elected by the electoral college if at all, Mr. Bryan must

win 48 more electoral votes than he did in 1896. And this means that he has got to do better than win 48 electoral votes outside those he won in 1896. For some of the electoral votes he won in 1896 he is almost certain, humanly speaking he is certain, to lose this year. In 1896 he secured one electoral vote out of California's nine. This he will lose this year. In 1896 he secured the four electoral votes of Washington and the three of Wyoming. These states are sure to be lost to him this year. He carried Wyoming by but a few hundred votes in 1896, and the wool interests, benefited by the Dingley tariff, are counted on to turn the state to McKinley this year. And Washington, judging by the June election returns in her sister state, Oregon, is certain to give her electoral vote for McKinley.

Here then are eight electoral votes lost to Mr. Bryan as compared to his vote in 1896—one in California, four in Washington, three in Wyoming. Add these eight to the 48 votes that he was short in 1896 and we see he must gain 56 votes outside of those he won four years ago. And this is on an assumption most favorable to him, the assumption that he will win all the electoral votes he won in 1896 with the exception of those already noted, and an assumption really unreasonable. For the probability is very strong that he will lose the ten votes of Kansas that he had in 1896, and the possibility great that Nebraska and South Dakota, with eight and four votes respectively, will turn up in the McKinley column. And to this we may add that McKinley has a fighting chance, we may call it a bare chance of gaining one vote in Kentucky, and three each in the states of Idaho, Montana, Nevada and Utah.

States He Must Carry to Win.

So on a basis of the 1896 vote, and as a starting point, we have Bryan certainly short by 56 votes, probably short by 66, more than likely short by 78. That is, to win he must certainly win 56 electoral votes outside of those he secured in 1896, must probably secure 66, and not unlikely as many as 78. Now has he reasonable expectation of doing this, of even securing the minimum number? On the surface he has not. There is not a state that he did not carry in 1896 that he is certain to carry this year. And of the states carried by McKinley in 1896, there is only one that can be counted on as probable to vote for Bryan this year—that is as probable to vote for Bryan as Kansas is for McKinley. And that state is Maryland, with eight electoral votes. Then we come to four states claimed by the Bryan managers, and that the unprejudiced observer is inclined to put in the doubtful column, two of which, Indiana and Kentucky, may perhaps be said to be more likely to turn from McKinley to Bryan than the states of Nebraska and South Dakota are to turn from Bryan to McKinley, and two of which, Delaware and West Virginia, less likely.

All these four states were for McKinley in 1896, though his plurality in Kentucky was so small that Bryan got one of the thirteen electors. The total electoral vote of these states is 37. Therefore, carrying them all, Bryan would stand to gain 36 votes over 1896, and this added to a probable gain of 8 in Maryland, would give him a gain of 44. But this would not elect him. On the assumption most favorable to him, it would leave him 12 votes short, more probably, 22 votes short, and not unlikely 34 votes short, and this assuming that the Populists win no electoral votes in the South. Where, then, can he look for the votes necessary to elect him? To New York, to Illinois, to Ohio; New York with 36 electoral votes, Illinois with 24, Ohio with 23. But what chance has he in any one of these states? It would seem at first glance a mere bare chance. For, as compared with 1896, nothing short of a landslide in his direction can give Mr. Bryan these states, especially New York and Illinois.

His Strength With the Irish-American Vote.

But we are not saying a landslide cannot happen that would

sweep New York and Illinois from under the feet of McKinley. We are saying that unless Bryan carry one or the other of these states his election is, humanly speaking, impossible. And on top of this we say that though the chances are against Mr. Bryan's election, the election of Mr. McKinley is far from assured. For there is a strong element in New York and Illinois, and especially in New York, working against McKinley, an element that has turned in for Mr. Bryan, not because he is for silver, not because of his declared opposition to trusts, not because of his position in regards to the Philippines, but because President McKinley is strongly suspicioned, and not without reason, with leaning strongly to a pro-British policy. That element is the Irish-American vote. There is no doubt of its position. Almost to a man the Irish-Americans are resolved to march up to the polls and cast their ballots against McKinley. If party alignments were such as they were eight or twelve years ago in New York, such turn of the Irish-American vote would make the state hopelessly Democratic; with party lines drawn as they are, it is likely to make the state nip and tuck.

It may be the President is aware of this tendency on the part of the Irish-American vote and is alive to the danger. Certain it is that within the past two or three months he has done that which might go a long ways to remove the suspicion that his leanings are pro-British. Certain it is that he has not followed a pro-British policy in China. He has refused to keep troops in China to checkmate Russian plans, or plans attributed to Russia by the London press, and to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. He has acted in regard to China more in harmony with the hopes of Russia than of Britain. His course in China, as viewed by those who would have the United States keep out of foreign entanglements, is quite unexceptionable.

Now it may be that this course ordered by the President has all been for pre-election effect. It may be that the leanings of the President are in the direction of a pro-British foreign policy, a policy that will unite our world fortunes, and as a predatory nation, with those of Great Britain. It is suspicioned by the Irish-American vote, and with the depth of conviction, that his leaning is to such a policy. And, we repeat, there is good ground for such suspicion. While the President keeps in his Cabinet, as his Secretary of State, such an anglophile as Mr. Hay, it cannot be otherwise. After having stood sponsor for the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, that contemplated a surrender of the American claims with regard to our rights to build an isthmian canal, after having for months and in many little ways shown a readiness to chime in with and further British policies, the President will find it no easy matter to obliterate the impression that he has a leaning to a pro-British policy.

What Would Follow the Election of Mr. Bryan.

Now if Mr. Bryan should be elected President what would follow, in how far would the present policy of the country, as to matters foreign and matters domestic, be changed? We here assert our positive belief that the change would be so small in any direction that it could hardly be marked. With the inauguration of Mr. Bryan there would come a change of Administration but no change in policy of any moment. The gold standard would not be overthrown, our present system of national taxation would be continued, the trusts would continue to flourish as now, upon the prop of railroad discrimination, our very Philippine policy, so vigorously attacked by Mr. Bryan, would not be changed.

No Change of Philippine Policy.

To begin with this first last it is the policy of the President, as declared in his letter of acceptance, to establish a stable government in the Philippines as a first step to granting them the rights of self-government as to their local affairs—to granting them the powers of self-government as far and as promptly as they show ability to carry them. Now, of course, this policy is

all conceived on the empirical theory that one people have a right to say how far another are fit for self-government, how far such self-government will be good for them and can be safely permitted them—on the empirical theory that we can better rule the Filipino people so as to promote their happiness than they could themselves. And this theory, this conception of government, Mr. Bryan utterly repudiates. Yet it would be his policy, he has so declared, and as the first step preparatory to granting the Filipinos independence, to establish a stable government for them. In short the first step of his policy would be the first step of the President's policy, a step he is finding it so hard to carry out. The great difference is that Mr. Bryan would go at the establishment of a stable government in a very different spirit, with the promise that the establishment of such government would be followed by grant of independence. He declares that his first act would be to call Congress together to give this promise. He would continue the effort to establish a stable government, but pursue it in a far different spirit than that in which it is now pursued and with a far different promise. And this change of spirit, this promise, would bring peace—so it is assumed. And doubtless if the Filipinos put faith in such promise they would sheath their swords, such of them as are fighting for independence and have not degenerated into mere banditti. But if Congress, called together to give this promise refused, if the Democrats, being in a majority in the House, failed to unite to pass a resolution giving such promise, and failed to unite as they almost certainly would, what faith would the Filipinos have left in such a promise? Such faith as they had in the promises of the Democracy would be shattered, such hope as they had of securing their independence peaceably in the event of the election of Mr. Bryan would be dissipated; if the spirit that bids men strive for independence were not dead they would fight on, would resist efforts of Mr. Bryan to establish a stable government over them as they have resisted the efforts of President McKinley. What they want and ought to be accorded, not as a privilege but as a right, is an opportunity to establish a stable government for themselves. They had such an opportunity presented to them under most adverse conditions in the summer of 1898 and they availed of it with very fair success. A stable government they had established at Malolos and it was steadily extending its authority and influence till we set out to destroy it.

No Free Silver Bill, No Reform in Taxation, No Knocking of Props from Under the Trusts.

If Mr. Bryan should be elected he would find his moves blocked in all directions, not only by a hostile Republican majority in the Senate, but by members of his own party. We fancy he would soon see evidences of his party having been bought up by the plutocracy, the moneyed cliques. For bought up, not in the vulgar way of the giving of open money bribes, but by the interesting of various Democratic leaders in sundry trusts and schemes of the moneyed cliques for gathering to themselves riches by stripping the multitude, we believe the Democratic party has been. For, indeed, the moneyed cliques may well have pursued this course, the buying up of the Democratic party in preference to buying the re-election of McKinley, as both the cheapest and the safest. Certain it is that they feel tolerably sure that the Democratic party, if it get in power, can be counted on to protect their interests. If they did not they would not be so indifferent in responding to the Republican appeals for campaign funds. They are well assured that no free silver bill will be enacted in the event of Mr. Bryan's election. Nor do they count merely on a Republican Senate to prevent this. They count on opposition in the Democratic party, among Democratic Congressmen. And they know that without the enactment of such a bill no depreciation of the dollar can result from Bryan's election.

And equally well are they assured that there would follow

upon Democratic success no redistribution of the burdens of Federal Taxation. Indeed, the general theory followed by the Republican and Democratic parties in the framing of legislation to raise national revenues, and though they have fought much over details, has been at bottom the same. It has been to tax articles of general consumption. The Democratic programme promulgated under the name of a "tariff for revenue only," carried this idea to an extreme. It called for the raising of the national revenues by import duties levied on articles of general consumption, particularly on articles that were not largely if at all produced in this country, such as sugar, coffee, tea, and duties that would necessarily be added into the selling price of such articles and so paid by the consumer. And obviously taxes imposed on such articles must fall more heavily on the poor than the rich, must shift the burdens of taxation from the income of the capitalist classes to the earnings of the nation's wage earners. And the Democratic party that has championed such system of taxation, to the great applause of the fund-holding and rent-holding classes, cannot be expected to exert itself to re-arrange the system of Federal Taxation with an eye to equalizing the burdens.

The money cliques well know they have nothing to fear on this score from the Democracy coming into power. And they don't fear. And equally sure do they feel that the election of Bryan would not be followed by the enactment of any effective legislation for the knocking of the props out from under the trusts. For the nationalization of the railroads can alone result in knocking out the greatest of the props, and even Mr. Bryan shuns the advocacy of that step. And he shunning it, what in reason can be expected of his party?

The Election of Bryan Would Be Followed by the Breaking Up of His Party.

So do we say that the country would profit nothing from the election of Mr. Bryan, the triumph of the Democracy. That triumph would bring no change of policy, that Democracy in power could be depended upon to safeguard the interests of the plutocracy as they have been safeguarded under Republican regime. Those who expect else from Democratic success would awaken to disappointment in the event of Mr. Bryan's election. They would see nothing done that would be effective to root out the evils of trusts, they would see a free silver bill defeated in a Democratic House, they would see no reform in taxation, they would see no lifting of burdens from the backs of the many only a piling on, they would see the tendency to wealth centralization go on unchecked. They would struggle against this only to find their powerlessness, only to find themselves baffled. And in the end the truth would be driven home to them that their faith in the Democracy was misplaced, that as a party it was unworthy of their support. So do we believe that the election of Mr. Bryan would end in the breaking up of the Democratic party, a desertion of that party by its followers. But who will get the gain of this? We will, if we make in this campaign the respectable showing of a virile party. If we do not make this showing we will not. Let Populists bear this in mind in casting their votes.

What Would Follow the Election of McKinley.

Now, on the other hand, suppose Mr. McKinley is re-elected. What would happen? There will follow, of course, no change in policy. But the country is unmistakably entering upon another era of commercial and industrial depression. Another of the periodical squeezes to which we have become accustomed is at hand. It will come whether Mr. McKinley or Mr. Bryan is elected. The election of neither will stave it off. But whichever of them is elected will be blamed for it. In financial and commercial circles it may be sharper in the event of Mr. Bryan's election than it otherwise would be. And he would be powerless, if indeed he would have anything of moment to propose, to put an early end to the following hard times, and he would be thus discredited.

On the other hand, if McKinley be re-elected, the Republicans continued in power, men will see commercial and industrial depression come under Republican Administration, under McKinley, and many will be disabused of the notion that the wisdom of his Administration brought the comparative prosperity of the past few years. And McKinley and his party would stand discredited as the advance agents of prosperity.

The Industrial Squeeze That Is on Top of Us.

One of our periodical squeezes is upon us and its coming should cause no surprise. The producing classes have gathered some accumulations in the past two or three years of fair trade. It is now time to squeeze from them that which they have accumulated. And plutocracy has control of the tools to do it; the banks controlling the volume of credits, the railroads controlling freight rates. Bank credits but lately much expanded and to help along the boom, make a buying power. Restriction of such credits must constrict purchasing power and lead to a dropping of prices. Granting of preferences in freight rates will give success to such enterprises, such trusts as may be picked out for favoritism, cause them to boom and prosper. Withdrawal of such preferences will bring to such enterprises collapse. And these powers to boom and squeeze, the plutocracy, controlling our banks and railroads, enjoys. So long as it is permitted to continue in control of our banks and railroads, we will have periodical booms and squeezes. There is nothing mythical, nothing supernatural about them. The moneyed cliques having got possession of a lot of property cheap during a period of squeeze, and wishing to unload, use their powers to boom things. They extend credits, give freight preferences to the particular properties they want to boom, build "trusts," greatly over capitalize them, float so much of the securities as they are able to, prepare themselves for another squeeze, which, indeed, having inflated credits which they have undertaken to redeem in gold, is inevitable, but which they are ready for.

So does the centralization of wealth, the stripping of the many of the surplus fruits of their labor through a seesaw of booms and squeezes go on. And go on it will until the power to regulate the volume of bank credits and freight rates is put in the hands of the government.

Break Up of Both Old Parties in Event of Republican Success.

Now Republican success, followed by such a squeeze, will inevitably end in a disintegrating of the forces of that party. It will be followed by more, by the disintegration of both old parties. For even though McKinley be re-elected, the Democrats will be almost sure to have a majority in the next House. And the Democracy having such majority in the House and placed in a position of semi-responsibility, will show its divisions, its insincerity, its absolute incapacity as a constructive party—aye, its incapacity to do anything but fail to agree upon any measure antagonistic to the interests of the plutocracy. And such show must break up the Democracy, as commercial and industrial depression coming with the re-election of McKinley, must tend to break up his party. And from this break up in the old parties we will profit if we make the respectable showing of a live party next November. If we fail to make this showing, we will gain nothing from the impending break up of parties. A Populist's duty is plain.

Let No Populist Throw His Vote Away.

All the foregoing points to the one lesson, the lesson we want to impress: Let no one who believes in the principles of Populism throw his vote away by casting it for Bryan or McKinley, let no one flatter himself that a vote for Bryan or McKinley would be other than a vote that would strengthen the hand of plutocracy.

Peoples Party News.

By Special Correspondents of THE AMERICAN.

Believing it will be of great advantage to Populists and also materially advance the cause of the Peoples Party to keep its members posted on the progress of the campaign, we have arranged with leading Populists throughout the United States, who have the people's cause profoundly at heart, to send us special news letters which we shall publish over their signatures week by week. The aim is to furnish reliable information that will make a substantial basis to work from.

Michigan.

BY JAMES E. MCBRIDE,

Secretary, Peoples Party National Committee.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.—The situation in Michigan regarding political movements is a problem that no one seems able to solve. There is no enthusiasm. The Republicans aver that they have no means to make an energetic fight. The Democrats claim that they have plenty of money and are going to carry the state. In this, the Fifth Congressional district, Mr. McKnight, Democratic nominee for Congress, seems to be putting up the only public display. Congressman Smith, his Republican opponent, is doing practically nothing, relying on usual big majorities to bear him safely through. This condition of affairs makes it difficult for a third party to act. The independent Populist vote here in Michigan is about six thousand, scattered over eighty-three counties and twelve Congressional districts, but it is a sure vote for the Populist national and state tickets, and a mighty nucleus for the gathering after this campaign if, as Senator Butler says in the *Caucasian*, the Fusion Populists, after the coming election is over, will "proceed to reorganize the party, unite all the elements that are opposed to both of the old parties, and then unitedly thereafter run a straight Peoples party ticket for President and Vice-President until a majority of the voters are enlisted under the Peoples party banner, the government is restored to the people, and the nation redeemed."

The true Populists of Michigan who have insisted on independent action ever since the fiasco of 1896 stand ready to extend the greeting hand to all reformers that will adopt that course, sincerely believing that this campaign will prove the correctness of their contention that no reform can ever be secured through success of either old party. We need the awakening here that has come to Senator Butler and his following in North Carolina. The dawn is near at hand.

We have a full state ticket, including Presidential electors, in the field, and will complete our tickets in districts and counties as far as possible before the time lapses to certify them, which will be twenty days before election day. Want of funds is our great drawback. Hon. John O. Zabel, our State Chairman, and I have the whole work of certification, as well as management on our hands, and neither is well able to meet necessary expenses. We had hoped that the National Committee would aid us in securing funds, but we now despair of any such assistance. We will stand up to the line, however, ready to unite with our separated brethren when the *ignis fatuus* of Democratic reform passes beyond the view of mankind in November next.

Tell the Populists of the nation that we of Michigan are unwavering and will be found in unbroken column when the contest of 1900 passes into history as a manoeuvre for position by both old parties and not an open warfare.

Illinois.

BY JOSEPH HOPP,

Chairman, Peoples Party State Committee of Illinois.

CHICAGO, ILLS.—I am not going to preach why I am a Populist, nor why Populists should be such. This is time for work, and the hardest kind of work. We are determined to build up our party in Illinois. Outside of Cook County we will concentrate our efforts in the 17th, 18th, 19th and 21st Congressional districts, and the 26th, 28th, 34th, 38th, 40th, 42d and 48th Legislative districts. Tuesday, October 2d, our State Executive Committee meets at Springfield, the State Capitol, when we expect to file the nomination petitions for all those districts. From that day on we will push the campaign in earnest and to the extent circumstances will permit.

Ex-Congressman Howard, of Alabama, Col. Marsh, of Kentucky, and Col. J. S. Felter, of Illinois, will be in our state a week each. Their time will be given to districts above named. Our work would be completed, were we in a position to make

an effort on our Electoral and State tickets. These are our weak points simply because we have not the means required to give this branch of our work much-needed attention. It will not require much money, but a little is necessary.

In the 18th Congressional district, Dietrich Balser, of Bethalto, is our nominee, while in the 19th Chas. E. Palmer, of Noble, has been named for Congress.

In the 26th Legislative district, E. A. Mosher, of Cuba, and T. V. Vliet, of Tazwell, have been named for State Senator and Representative, respectively. In the 28th district, E. A. Hagerman, of Bushnell, has been selected for State Senator, and S. W. Walker, of Macomb, is the nominee for Representative. In the 38th district, the nominees for Senator and Representative, respectively, are Peter Stein, of St. Elmo, and J. J. Rittman, of Raymond.

In this county (Chicago) we held our County Convention, Sept. 22d. Our County Committee were delighted and much encouraged by the large attendance, the constant enthusiasm, unanimity of conduct, and the exceptionally strong ticket named, which contains thirty-five names.

The following Congressional nominations in Chicago districts were also made: 2d district, W. H. Banigan; 3d, Edward Mulloy; 4th, Capt. W. D. Coon; 5th, Wm. League; 6th, Wm. A. Hopp.

We are pushing the work with as much vigor as we can command, and our commodious headquarters at 182 Dearborn St., Chicago, are daily showing more life.

Idaho.

BY JOHANNES HANSEN.

Chairman, Peoples Party State Committee of Idaho.

SOUTHWICK, IDAHO.—At Lewiston, September 20th, a Middle-of-the-Road ticket (Electoral and State) was nominated by convention of straight Populists under the name of "Populist Party," that of Peoples Party being used by the Fusionists.

J. B. Osborne, of Georgia, addressed the convention, and in the evening of the next day a large audience in the Court House at Lewiston. He is now in the Couer d'Alene mining region, where he will speak several times. Our movement is growing, even in badly confused Idaho.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Present Social and Economic Conditions Among American Producers.

America's Working People. By CHARLES B. SPAHR. New York: Longman's, Green & Co. \$1.25.

Some months since, in speaking of a former book by Mr. Spahr, "The Distribution of Wealth," we had occasion to bear witness to the clearness of his observation, the soundness of his reasoning and the outspoken way in which he gave expression to very positive convictions. The present book appeals even more strongly to us in these particulars, and from beginning to end compels confidence and satisfaction no less than interest. It is, indeed, a treat to get hold of a work such as this is—a work in which a large field is broken and cultivated by one who fears not to harvest the crop, even though this crop may be variously good and bad, according as differing soils and conditions have affected it. But to drop the metaphor. Mr. Spahr, in presenting as he does in this volume the results of a careful study of the working people—the producing classes of America—conducted at first hand, not through a species of hypocrisy such as has been practiced by one or two adventurous students with more or less success and considerably greater resultant notoriety, but none the less directly, has done a work of unusual value. He went among the mill hands of New England, the workers of the South, both white and black, the miners in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, the operatives of the great steel works about Pittsburgh, the trade unionists of Chicago, the farmers of New England and the Northwest, and as a sympathetic inquirer who knows how not to be imposed upon as well as how to be fair, obtained a view, an understanding, and an appreciation of the people, their condition, their environment, their feelings, that is rarely comprehensive and proportionately valuable. Mr. Spahr went at this work as a student with a mind already trained to grasp, to sift and to classify, not less than to think clearly, and as he sought information he was careful not to jump at conclusions but to suspend judgment until both sides had been given a fair hearing and he was in a position to weigh all the testimony judicially. For these reasons are his findings and opinions of special importance and well worthy of the most serious attention.

As we read this book, studying it page by page as it deserves, and as increasing interest impelled us to do, we could not but be forcibly reminded of the progress that is making. Evidence of the times and of the undercurrent of public thought have become very manifest of late in literature, and the large number of books dealing directly and indirectly with one and another phase, show not only that many individuals are well-progressed, but what is of more importance, that the public is absorbant of such books. As further proof of this, we find these books coming from the presses of what may justly be considered conservative houses—firms of long-standing and substantial reputation that they would scarcely be willing to jeopardise by standing sponsor for any book, which, even were it to sell, would be regarded as appealing to a dissatisfied, irresponsible, disturbing element of society. Books which may not unjustly be classed in such a category will be written, but until there has been much leavening of public thought they will be issued by what may without impropriety or discourtesy be called "reform" publishers. Such books find no favor with "solid" people, and elicit no notice at the hands of the critics, except in the rarest instances. And this is scarcely to be wondered at, for apart from the direction they take and the unknown sources from which they come, they are as a rule so crude in construction and so incomplete and imperfect in every way as to merit little serious consideration. There are other reasons, too, altogether apart from the books themselves, which are potent in causing them to pass through the editorial sanctum unnoticed or disregarded. The last decade has been prolific of reform books, but until within the last three or four years almost nothing of a substantial, studious nature appeared. To-day there is hardly a large publishing house but has issued some book in which social and economic conditions are considered in a more or less radical and advanced way. And, what is more, it would be easy to scratch off a list showing how the most conservative houses have linked their names and reputations with books which ten years, yes, five years since, must have died still-born even had they been fortunate enough to have gotten that far. And in all this lies a story so clear that he who runs may read.

Now to get back to where we started. To begin with Mr.

Spahr prepares us for what is to come by thus summing up the results of his study :

"The impressions received were as far from supporting the belief that nothing need be done to better conditions, as from supporting the belief that nothing can be done. The distinguishing spirit of America's working people is hopeful discontent. . . . In many quarters—in most quarters in fact—serious losses in money earnings during the last twenty-five years were reported by those who had remained at the same work ; but in the factories and the mines, at least, the children of those who had done the unskilled work a generation ago, were generally advancing to higher stations, while new immigrants were taking the vacant places and coming under the quickening influence of American life. In the farming districts the economic losses were not so definitely offset by economic gains, but it was in the farming districts that the writer found social and moral and intellectual conditions most hopeful."

This leads up to a matter of deep concern to all who have given thought to it, its causes, consequences and effects, viz., the tendency to concentrate in great cities. Of this Mr. Spahr truly says : "The towns are being recruited by those too poor to be able to live in the country, as well as by those too rich to be willing to live there ; and this drifting helps make our urban districts the centres of both wealth and poverty, while the farming districts remain the strongholds of the independent middle classes." Elsewhere he remarks : "The problem of the unemployed in the cities and the problem of falling prices in the rural districts are one and the same problem." All of which is indisputable.

The author does not discuss the cities, save incidentally, but he clearly shows the deep gulf that separates them from the country districts. Comparing New York with the communities he visited, Mr. Spahr says :

"The contrast with New York, where most of our foreign critics think they find America, was sharp in the extreme. In this city less than one in four is of American parentage. In the rural districts less than one in four has any recollection of an immigrant ancestor. In this city there is almost the European separation of the rich and poor. The great wealth is the wealth of the few. Barely one family in four owns either its home or any industrial property whatever. In the rural districts the average wealth is small, but it is a common wealth. Less than one family in four is a tenant, and even the tenants usually own the stock and implements with which they do their work. Out of this economic independence and equality not only American political democracy but American social democracy has sprung."

Further on he adds :

"Altogether my visits to the rural districts of the East, the small towns as well as the farms, impressed upon me vividly the almost universal independence, self-respect and inability to look up or down upon our fellows, that has from the first been the very life of American democracy. Compared with these communities our cities are merely new Europe. America begins with the rural districts."

In a chapter on the "Northern Farm" Mr. Spahr completely overturns a theory of long standing and quite general belief that the mammoth farm, worked by machinery, is relatively more economical and profitable than the small farm. That this is not so becomes very evident from the facts he presents and the deductions he draws therefrom.

With Mr. Spahr theories and prejudices count for little in themselves. So, too, it is most refreshing to read a book by a man who does not waste time in arguments to disprove such obvious nonsense as has been served up so freely in much of the economic literature of the day. Two chapters are devoted to the negro, in which the author elicits much testimony to show the progress made by the race, not only as self-respecting people but as citizens, since their release from slavery. In the second, entitled "The Negro as a Citizen," we find a paragraph which, coming as it does from so good an observer and discriminating a judge as Mr. Spahr is known to be, and so abundantly proves himself in the book before us, will doubtless carry considerable weight with all open-minded people, as it will also, we think, be especially interesting to our readers. Having pointed out that the greatest bar to the upliftment of people at the bottom of life in class distinction, and applying the lesson to the negro, Mr. Spahr, writing within a year, says :

"In the political field the prospects were much worse than when I visited Georgia five years before. At that time the rise of the Populist party, and its saturation, in Georgia at least, with "Tom" Watson's enthusiasm for the elevation of the poor, seemed almost to have secured the recognition of the manhood of all manly negroes. Even the Democratic leaders were obliged to secure the support of negro speakers in order to prevent the stampede of the negroes toward the party already dominant among the mid-

dle-class whites, and themselves appeared on the same platform with their black colleagues. The color line seemed to have broken down, and the time seemed near at hand when all the political rights of the negro, and all the rights that could be secured through political action, would be granted him. A similar change had taken place in Alabama, though there the 'Jeffersonian Democrats' were perhaps less imbued with the spirit of humanity than the Georgia Populists, and were less successful in securing negro votes. . . .

Had the Populist party continued to grow—or not grown so rapidly—the political rights of the negroes would to-day be secure. But the capture of the Democratic organization by the Populistic elements brought back within the Democratic fold a large part of the independents, and took the heart out of the independent movement. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that clear-sighted Populist statesmen at the South, such as Mr. Watson, actually deplored the triumph of so many in their principles in the Chicago platform. This triumph meant the defeat in their section of the one party which was filled with enthusiasm for the elevation of the poor."

In conclusion we would most emphatically commend this work to the careful attention of all interested directly or indirectly in the social and economic condition of our working people. The book is well printed and substantially bound.

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The Fighting Boer.

The Boers in War. By HOWARD C. HILLEGAS. Illustrated. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

We are indebted once more to the brilliant young newspaper correspondent, Howard C. Hillegas, who in his recent book, "Oom Paul's People," attracted much attention. In his preface, our author says : "It has been my aim, in the following pages, to show the Boer army, country and people as they existed prior to the British occupation of Pretoria, and an earnest effort has been made to represent men and matters as they present themselves to the eyes of an American. Personal feeling has been eliminated, and the Boer's apparent faults have been portrayed as truthfully as their good features." Before going further, we may well say that Mr. Hillegas has lived up to this claim of impartiality and frank fairness. That he is a little bit prejudiced in favor of the Boers, is undeniable, but he never permits his personal feelings to warp his judgment. Having been with the Boers through their memorable campaigns and being personally acquainted with nearly all the burgher leaders, he was in position to see and now relate "the story of the British-Boer War of 1899-1900 as seen from the Boer side, with a description of the men and methods of the Republican armies."

Having thus certified to the opportunities and to the ability of Mr. Hillegas to write intelligently and fairly of "the Boers in war," we turn our attention to his estimates and conclusions. First, as to the number of Boers actually engaged in the war, we have his estimate, based upon sources of information whose authenticity we have no reason to question, that the Boers in the field and under arms never exceeded thirty thousand men. Following up this somewhat surprising statement, we are informed that the great majority of them were of such physical inferiority that they would fail to pass the usual examinations required in all foreign armies. As an instance, the author notes that one-armed men, and men with but one eye, as well as men of more than four score years and ten, and children of tender years, were a very common sight in the Boer laagers. But of course these men were hardened by their out-door life and quite familiar with the ground upon which they fought. This in itself tended very materially to equalize things.

The most striking thing about the Boer in war is his absolute independence of all authority. No Boer commander can, under the military system adopted by the burghers, force or compel the meanest Boer to do that which he does not feel inclined to do. Such a system is certainly not conducive to best military results, and in the field we have many cases where a battle was lost simply because the Boers did not see fit to engage in large numbers. Before Ladysmith, our author declares, that only about twenty-five hundred Boers were actually engaged, while upwards of ten thousand or more remained entirely idle in their laagers, and thus permitted the relief of the beleaguered English, who otherwise must have surrendered. Often and often Mr. Hillegas noted this same terrible inactivity of a portion of the Boer army that prevented, time and again, the complete victory of their arms. The Boer commander could entreat and beg and try by every method to prevail upon his men to follow his plans, but, save in a very few instances, he could not command. This was mainly so because the Boer farmer feared anything that tended toward taking from him his priceless lib-

erty. As a man he was more than willing to give up his life for sake of country, but he was never ready to abandon personal independence, and refused absolutely to become a soldier in the strict sense of the word. But as he refused at times to go to the assistance of a hard-pressed comrade at the behest of his commander, so we often find individual Boers and bodies of them acting in the boldest manner entirely on their own volition. An army so composed might win many victories, and might and did show to the world one of the most impressive, as it is one of the saddest spectacles of all times—a small and bold people fighting hopelessly at terrible disadvantage for their independence—but then it was not war. Our author's opinion is, that the English would have but just begun to win their way into the Transvaal had the Boers been willing to place themselves as soldiers under the leadership of any one of several of their really great military commanders. In war, for best results, a soldier should not be a complete law unto himself.

Mr. Hillegas gives as his reason for the wonderful success of the Boers, first, their preparedness and knowledge of the country; and second, the remarkable mobility due to the little Transvaal horse, which did often as much as the Boer himself to win victories. These splendid little animals conveyed the Boer armies at a rate of speed nearly akin to the railroad, thereby leading the English very naturally into the belief that there were great numbers of the enemy before them. We would like to go on at length in our discussion of this most timely and valuable book, but space prevents. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of giving our author's opinion of Paul Kruger, "the real leader of the Boers, their man of peace. The momentous questions that agitated the country and his long political supremacy caused him many and bitter enemies, but the war healed all animosities, and he was the one man in the Republic who had the respect, love, and admiration of all the burghers. . . . Not a word of censure of him was heard anywhere."

A brave and noble President of a brave and noble people, but alas, the greed of England backed up by the empire's mighty power, has ridden rough-shod over this man and his people, who only asked that they might be left alone to enjoy their hard-earned independence in the far away South Africa, which they had conquered and redeemed.

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Shall This Be Our Chinese Policy?

China's Open Door. A Sketch of Chinese Life and History. By ROUNSEVELLE WILDMAN. With an Introduction by CHARLES DENBY, former U. S. Minister to China. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co. \$1.50.

This, the latest book on the much mooted Chinese question, comes out under the warm and earnest endorsement of Hon. Charles Denby, many years United States Minister at Peking. In his introduction to this book Colonel Denby asserts that after Dr. S. S. Williams' "Middle Kingdom," this book of United States Consul General Wildman, of Hong Kong, takes rank as the peer of all others. Now we are quite ready to acknowledge the great merit and real value of the book, but with all due deference to Colonel Denby, we are not at all ready to accept his views as tenable. We much fear that our former Minister has given way before the blandishments and flattery of Mr. Wildman in selecting him to write the introduction to "China's Open Door," and that he has written only that which must prove satisfactory to the author. We are sorry that Colonel Denby, in his friendship for the author and in his admiration for the book, has seen fit to lend his name to such an unqualified endorsement. Of course, the views of Mr. Wildman may be his, but this we can hardly believe of a man who has lived among the Chinese as many years as Colonel Denby has. It is not possible that he would recommend a foreign policy such as that of Consul General Wildman. At least we most heartily hope not.

Our most serious objection to this book is that the author unblushingly and with perfect bluntness urges upon the American government, and upon all foreign governments, a policy based strictly and solely on force. He maintains that in diplomacy and peaceful intercourse the Chinaman will assuredly get the better of his less wily white-skinned opponent. This being so, he recommends that we treat with the Chinaman always from behind the mouth of shotted cannon. In this way, he tells us, shall we gain the respect and admiration of the Chinese, and in this way and in no other can we secure the "open door" to Chinese trade. In the chapter dealing with the commercial outlook in China we find the following beautiful view, that in other words and in other places is oft repeated: "The best advice I can give to merchants who honestly wish to compete for China's trade, is

to imitate the methods of the old-established English and German firms. Gunboats, earnestness, diplomacy, will give us our place in the Chinese market." If, indeed, Consul General Wildman's method of securing and controlling the Chinese trade is the only possible one, we for one have no desire for such trade, which can only result in bitter hatred and great bloodshed between the races just so long as the above policy is pursued. We do not care for trade at the point of the sword and we do not believe our people, who are honest and true at heart, would be willing to sacrifice another life or another dollar in defense of such a frightfully unholy policy. As a rule, our people have not been permitted to see the Far Eastern trade situation as it is, and, therefore, we are glad that Mr. Wildman is so brutally frank as to permit of no misunderstanding. His book will go a long way as an educator.

Also to those few who care not for justice, and who are lost to all sense of righteousness so long as their pockets are benefited thereby, we would recommend a careful reading of this book, feeling sure that they would learn that which would make them ponder ere they plunged still further into the dark abyss before them. . . . "the talk of our doing in the next five years a trade with China amounting to two hundred and fifty million dollars a year sounds well, but it is sheer nonsense."

There are points in this book that we might very readily take serious exception to, and would, were we not confident that the above being the most important and vital will demonstrate that the author's principles are not such as should find a lodging place in Christian hearts. The arrogant manner in which he speaks of and regards the Filipino, as well as the Chinaman, is simply disgusting. His motto might well read: If they object, kill the damned fools, and take their country. But as there is much to condemn about the book there is also much, indeed, to commend and recommend. It is by all odds the most readable book on China we have yet seen. There is not a dry or uninteresting sentence throughout the whole book, and we were sorry that there was not more to it. Mr. Wildman's observations are always apt and to the point, even if we cannot agree to all of them. He is easily the master of his subject and thoroughly at home at all times. As our final summary of his book, which is destined to have, and deservedly, a large sale, we would say that it is a delightfully interesting book, almost a travel romance, but far from a fair or exhaustive study of China and the Chinese.

On the mechanical side the book is a credit to the publishers, and contains quite a number of illustrations.

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A Friendly View of Cæsar.

A Friend of Cæsar. A Tale of the Fall of the Roman Republic. By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

When we remember that this story of the triumph of Cæsar over Pompey and the downfall of the Roman Republic is the product of a man exceedingly young in years, (he is as yet an undergraduate in Harvard University), we are almost ready to agree with those admiring friends of Mr. Davis, who have proclaimed this book as one of the remarkable literary productions of later years in American letters. But while this work of Mr. Davis is a most meritorious one, and deserving of all and high praise for its undeniable strength and sterling worth, we cannot go so far as to rank it among the great novels of recent years. It is intensely interesting as a study of Rome and the Roman people, and of the cause of the great Cæsar, and a thrilling story when taken strictly as such. It is all this and a good deal more as we will attempt to show; but a great or even a memorable book it is not. Our prophecy is that it will not live in public esteem many years, and that it, like nearly every other book, regardless of how estimable, will die a gradual but sure death; that the public will forget it in the new thirst after the latest publications.

But this book of Cæsar, for that is just what it is, should not and cannot be accepted lightly. It is deserving of much more than passing notice, for there is about it that which bears abundant evidence that the author has knowledge of what he speaks. Mr. Davis is courageous in his opinions of Cæsar and bold in the expression of them. That Cæsar was without question one of the greatest, if not, indeed, the very greatest man, take him all in all, this world has ever seen, is useless to deny. As a soldier, as a statesman and for intellectual attainments, we much doubt if history can point out such another truly great master man. As a soldier we may very probably find his equal, also intellectually, but for a man combining all the elements of greatness in one where can we find his equal? But our author goes further and attempts to establish, what he earnestly and sincerely

believes to be the real truth, viz., the point that Cæsar, besides being all this, was also a true and whole-hearted patriot and a man who was forced by irresistible circumstances to assume the dictatorship of the Roman Republic and lay the corner-stone for the rule of the Cæsars. Mr. Davis makes a very plausible case and one that contains much of truth, we feel sure, and as we read of the frightful oligarchy of Rome that masqueraded as patriotic men at the same time they were undermining the very life and strength of the once proud and great Republic, we are almost ready to accept his conclusions. Still, we can hardly regard Cæsar as an example of pure and unadulterated patriotism; his life work as handed down to us, scarcely gives us such an impression. Perhaps he, among many other great men, has not been understood and his motives regarded with suspicion, and it may be that we also are doing our little to hide the real Cæsar from the light of intelligent understanding. If so we can but repeat as our excuse and justification the words of Shakespeare: "The evil that men do lives after them. The good is oft interred with their bones."

Mr. Davis is surely "a friend of Cæsar," for he defends and extols him at great length. For instance, we find the following sentiments put in the mouth of the Great Roman: "Young man, many follow me for selfish gain, many follow me to pay off a grudge, but few follow me because they believe that because Cæsar is ambitious, he is ambitious as a god should be ambitious—to bestow the greatest benefits possible upon the men entrusted to his charge. I know not what thread for me the Fates have spun; but this I know, Cæsar will never prove false to those who trust him to bring righteousness to Rome, and peace to the world." Our author's account of Mark Antony before the Roman Senate, fighting valiantly for justice and for the rights of Cæsar, is a vivid, brilliant, dramatic and notably forcible piece of writing. In truth, Mr. Davis at times writes with superb strength, but like all young men, his efforts are not sustained throughout. The future should have much in store for this brilliant and enthusiastic young author.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Patriotic Eloquence. Relating to the Spanish-American War and Its Issues. Compiled and arranged by ROBERT I. FULTON and THOMAS C. TRUEBLOOD. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1 net.

Before us is a collection of passages from speeches of American orators of the day dealing with questions "relating to the Spanish-American war and its issues," as stated in the sub-title. The compilers, both of them professors of oratory, have done their work intelligently and well. Some of the questions presented and argued are yet in the present and immediately before our people for consideration and settlement; others are of the past, decidedly so, even though it is a recent past. Therefore, the volume retreats largely into history, notwithstanding it is in many ways bound to the present. And so let us turn to the speeches as therein presented and briefly consider them with regard to their probable hold on generations to come.

We have a long array of names—some three dozen in all—of prominent or well-known men who are accustomed to public speaking—such men as President McKinley, Hon. W. J. Bryan, Senators Hoar, Beveridge and Thurston and Carl Schurz. But as we look over the speeches, we find in few of them that peculiar something which differentiates the orator from the speaker and makes a speech something more than a mere statement of facts. We find cases well put, facts clearly stated, and arguments neatly turned in very many of the speeches given, but this, though an essential basis for the highest oratory, is not in itself oratory. To it must be given that certain life which lifts us out of ourselves and inspires us with the spirit and feeling of the orator and the cause which finds voice through him. A few of the speeches in the collection do this to a certain degree, but in none is the power sustained. In vain would one search among them for anything to compare with the "Reply to Hayne," and not one of them all can equal in pathos and eloquence the Gettysburg address wrung from the feeling heart and conscious understanding of the great Lincoln. The judgment must be that we have few real orators to-day. The printing press, perhaps, has destroyed the breed by curtailing its usefulness.

Supplementary to the speeches, which are arranged by name of speaker alphabetically, will be found, presented in a sort of appendix, brief biographical sketches of the several men. These will prove useful and convenient, particularly to the student who shall hunt out the volume a few years hence.

Sam Houston. By SARAH BARNWELL ELLIOT. *The Beacon Biographies.* Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

Texans will not soon forget, nor cease to honor the memory of Sam Houston. Though a Virginian by birth, and a Tennessean until an unfortunate marriage drove him forth chagrined and pained, Texas was the scene of Houston's life work, and he the man above all others who made the Lone Star state what it is. His life and the history of Texas from 1835, when sturdy manhood and the indomitable spirit of a free people rebelled against Mexico, through all the stormy years down to 1861, when Texas, after having successfully won her independence, maintained a separate national existence for a period, and found her rightful place as a constituent member of the Union, joined the South in the Great Rebellion despite the efforts and counsel of her old leader and ever devoted, self-sacrificing servant, were so inseparably linked together at every point that it is impossible to consider the one save in connection with and as a part of the other. And thus has the author written this biography of Sam Houston. He has taken leading parts in his earlier life, but it was not until Houston went to Texas, and as a Texan worked with Texans, that he found full scope for his powers of mind and body. From the time he set foot in Texas there was man's work there, and he, by reason of his varied capacity, strong will, sincerity of purpose, and, above all, his peculiar fitness to lead a rough though earnest people in difficult times, was from the outset in a foremost and responsible position. The life of such a man cannot fail to have an interest, distinct and decided, and the same may be said for this brief sketch of Sam Houston.

A Hand-Book of Golf for Bears. By FRANK VERBECK. Verses by HAYDEN CARRUTH. New York: R. H. Russell. \$1.

The present production has all the characteristics of the Russell funny book, and, like all his publications, the distinctive peculiarities in get up which form, as it were, a business trade mark. The golf fiend is beyond all control by established usages, possessing an independence which is only equalled by his, and we must add, her enthusiasm for a sport that is seemingly irresistible in its fascination to the ever increasing numbers who try their hand at it. And so we would expect a ready sale for this mild take-off on the golf player, just as a large demand can be confidently anticipated for any new thing for his outfit. The person with a hobby always has time and money for it. As to the particular merits of this book we had best leave judgment to those more directly concerned. We have not gone wild over it by any means, but then we are not even high privates in the golf army. Which, being so, we would scarcely presume to set our opinion against that of the initiated.

The Journal of the Federal Convention of 1787 Analyzed. By HAMILTON P. RICHARDSON. San Francisco: The Murdock Press. \$3.50.

It goes without saying that a clear understanding of the Constitution is of the utmost importance. Where there is difference of opinion as to the meaning of any clause in it, the wording of which may admit of two interpretations, there is but one way to reach a correct decision and that is to ascertain, if possible, the power which the framers of the instrument intended such clause to carry. Hence the value and importance of this work, which is a studious analysis and critical history of the making of the Constitution, based on the Official Journal, Acts and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. We believe this is the first time these records have been so worked over in their entirety with special regard to their bearing upon the Constitution and our understanding of it.

The author, who is a member of the Wisconsin bar, follows the subject with all the keenness and attention to details which the trained attorney would give to the preparation of his brief in the most important case. Of course, Mr. Richardson's aim has been to arrive at a correct understanding of the Constitution as a whole and of disputed clauses in particular. In this effort he has developed his views in a way that is both thoughtful and scholarly. He accepts the national interpretation and concludes that Congress has *general power* to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; that direct taxes are taxes *direct to the several states* in contrast with duties extending throughout the United States, which are indirect taxes to the several states; and that the limits of the Union are coextensive with the bounds of America. Without going deeper into the study or the argument of the author we would say in a word that this work, which is compactly bound in legal style,

is one the constitutional lawyer will find of high value, and the student of the American Constitution of great assistance and instruction.

Nature's Miracles. Familiar Talks on Science. By ELISHA GRAY. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 60 cents.

There is much to commend this little book. Written by a master of his subject, it treats of several departments of physics, such as energy, sound, heat, light and explosives, in a way that combines scientific knowledge and method with popular treatment. In other words, Prof. Gray has eliminated scientific terms wherever possible, and illustrated point by point in a way that attracts and interests the lay reader. Indeed, one is carried forward so easily and with so little effort on his own part that he is not a little surprised upon reaching the end of the book to find how much he has really learned. The author is to be complimented on the way in which he has done his work and the publishers to be congratulated upon securing his services. This is a substantial and reliable work that should find full favor with those who desire to get a clear understanding of the essentials of physics without going into an exhaustive study of the science and what it teaches. A previous volume treated of earth, air and water, and a succeeding, to complete the set, will be about electricity and magnetism.

Uncanonized. A Romance of English Monarchism. By MARGARET HORTON POTTER. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

As a story of real merit and great power, "Uncanonized" is a distinct and decided success, but from its very nature and because of its inherent strength, it is not a book that will leave its impression and mark upon public opinion. The mass of the reading world will lay aside this novel unfinished and misunderstood, for it is written in a style so distinctly its own and so out of the ordinary as to dismay the reader, who desires a book simply to please and satisfy. It is the reader's loss that this should be so, for we do not know when we have seen a book that means so much, and is so much, as this one, and we regret exceedingly that its sale cannot be an extensive one. And a large circulation of this novel is out of the question for the very reason that its virtues will not touch the popular taste. Therefore, we say, that while the book is one of unusual merit, it is not, and never will be, a popular novel. But if the author is aiming higher than the multitude, if she has attempted to do that which will make a lasting impression among a class of readers who crave for and demand a literature of more than passing interest, she may well rest eminently satisfied. To the few such her story of early monastic life in England, and her impressions of the political conditions of that day, and more particularly her view as to the character of King John, will prove of engrossing interest. The author has, beyond a doubt, labored to make of this book a reliable history of the age in which the story is set, and we are ready to acknowledge the success of her effort.

The Green Flag. And Other Stories of War and Sport. By A. CONAN DOYLE. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.50.

Under our notice we have a book of some fifteen short stories from the pen of the well-known Englishman, Dr. A. Conan Doyle. These stories are in the usual happy style of the author, and in many of them we recognize old acquaintances that first saw publicity between the covers of leading monthly magazines. They are one and all devoted to war and sport. Adventure has always been a favorite ground with Dr. Doyle from which to pick and choose his ideas, and all readers of his books can bear witness to his imaginative touch. He is one of England's most popular, as he is one of her most prolific writers. Seldom do we go many weeks without seeing the notice of still another story from his ready and busy pen. And of Dr. Doyle's writings, we may in all justice say that he never gives out to the world a story without some interest or devoid of merit. He understands very well how to please and attract the great body of readers whose fancy is always caught by the romance of action and adventure. Dr. Doyle is a little too bloodthirsty and brutal to suit our taste, but then the wide circulation his stories have won is proof that he has satisfied a large majority. The short stories in this book are not in any way to be compared with such books as "Sherlock Holmes," or "Uncle Bernac," books of more than ordinary worth, but still they serve very nicely to pass an idle hour.

French Prose of the XVII. Century. Selected and edited with an introduction and notes. By F. M. WARREN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. \$1.

The literature of France of the seventeenth century is about equal to the poetry, drama and belle-lettre prose of the grand time of the Renaissance. That epoch produced great men there, developed great minds and was made illustrious by the lofty thoughts of the great philosophers, who even yet are leading spirits. This seventeenth century literature has, therefore, become so constant a theme for critics and so useful a subject for discussion, that not a few of the great essayists are still taking the men of that age as worthy subjects for treatises, thus developing more and more the grand ideas, which made that time perhaps the most illustrious in history.

This book takes up five distinct authors and treats of certain parts of their famous works. René Decartes, born March 31st, 1596, died February 11, 1650, is represented by the first four chapters of "discourse of method"; Blaise Pascal, born June 19th, 1623, died August 19, 1662, by his "provincial letters" (the first, fourth, and thirteenth) and also selections from the "thoughts" which have made him so conspicuous; Francois VI., Duc de la Rochefaucauld, born September 15, 1613, died March 16th, 1680, by his "maxims"; Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, born September 27, 1627, died April 12th, 1704, by the "funeral orations on Madame and the Prince de Condé"; and Jean de la Bruyere, born August 16th, 1645, died May 10, 1698, by "the characters." Every possible phase, therefore, is represented in this book,—criticism, philosophy, religion, law, oratory, etc. The numerous notes, making about sixty pages, will give the student useful, interesting, scholarly and beneficial information about the writers, their time as well as their productions, especially the selections treated in this book. Dr. F. M. Warren, who is Professor of Romance Languages in Adalbert College of Western Reserve University, has certainly placed all lovers of French and French literature under obligations for the treat he here affords them.

Les Precieuses Ridicules. By JEAN-BAPTISTE POQUELIN MOLIERE. Edited with introduction and notes by Walter Dallam Toy. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

The object of the editor in bringing to beginners of the French language the masterpieces of the world's greatest comedy writer, Moliere, is one which cannot be too highly appreciated. He intends to acquaint his readers, and (being a well-known teacher of modern languages, and professor of that branch in the University of North Carolina) his students in particular with the immortal humor and wit of that wonderful man. This Edition has consequently been prepared with special reference to the needs of those who are beginning to study French literature. The introduction of notes has been done for the purpose of enabling students to pursue further interesting investigations in the study of the great dramatist and his time. The sooner students are acquainted with Moliere the better for them, the sooner they read him the better will they understand and appreciate French.

Sigwalt and Sigridh. By FELIX DAHN. Edited with an introduction and notes by F. G. G. Schmidt, Ph.D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.

Love and lovers enjoy almost always the sympathy of the reading world. This charming little love story by Felix Dahn, will certainly make attractive reading for those who are fond of a real pure love story, of exquisite language and old German mythology. We say attractive, because of its beautiful diction and thought. But it will also prove extremely hard reading, very hard. While the language is exceedingly beautiful and poetic and the vocabulary rich—the uncommonly large number of coined words, of mythological names, which cannot be found in any ordinary dictionary, will rather prove a hardship than a pleasure to students in schools and colleges. We therefore hold, that the story cannot, successfully, be used for schools. And this was, or rather seems to be the purpose of the editor.

As a story, Sigwalt and Sigridh may be considered one of the grand ones written by Dahn. It is the one he has dedicated to his wife Theresa, née Frein von Dorste-Hülshoff, who is herself an author and, who, together with her famous husband, has published numerous historical novels. The supernatural heroes herein, the god Odhin, the goddess Freia and the great number of others, then Walhalla, the wonderful palace of immortality, tend undoubtedly to add special charm, but, in spite of the gods and goddesses the chief interest remains with the lovers of our own flesh and blood, remains on our own soil, Mother Earth. As to Felix Dahn, he is unquestionably the foremost and ablest

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writer in Germany to-day. His novels are symphonies in language, gems in thought; the words and expressions pearls. The fame of some of his writings has become world-wide, and most of them are translated into every important language.

While it is most commendable for Dr. Schmidt, who is professor of modern languages at the State University of Oregon, to try to introduce Dahn among his younger readers, we feel that the hard work connected with the pleasure will, if not deprive them altogether of the beauty of the language, certainly discourage them to such an extent that they might feel with a certain Englishman, who said: "Let the Germans learn our language, for theirs is so desperately hard."

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Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe. (Romeo and Juliet in the Village.) By GOTTFRIED KELLER. Edited, with introduction and Notes, by W. A. Adams. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 30 cents.

The text of the present little volume is intended for students of more advanced classes. The German being somewhat idiomatic and colloquial it became necessary to make omissions, corrections in orthography and various other changes. We must repeat, therefore, the query we put once before when reviewing a book by the same Swiss-German author: why should a compiler and editor not make his selections from the great abundance of "unsurpassed" German prose, which needs no omissions, no improvements, no change at all, indeed, which cannot be changed or improved? We think it is quite immaterial for an American student of German to know about second and third class writers who are not even Germans, save by language, when they could be introduced to the best prose writers of the day, every single selection from whom would be a treasure of thought, language, diction and style. Why not select from them?

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IN THE LITERARY WORLD.

The first collection of verses by Edwin Markham, since the publication of "The Man With the Hoe," is fresh from the press of McClure, Phillips & Co., under the title of "The Sower and Other Poems." The new poems are hopeful in their view of labor, quite in contrast to the pessimism which some critics read in "The Man With the Hoe." It is Mr. Markham's plan to write a series of poems expressing the dignity of labor and the hopefulness of the worker and his work. The present volume is the first product of that idea.

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The Macmillan Company have just published Prof. W. W. Willoughby's critical essay on "Social Justice." Professor Willoughby has already obtained for himself a high standing as a writer in the field of political philosophy by his work, "The Nature of the State," which was published in 1896.

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"Parables for Our Times: A Study of Present Day Questions in the Light of Christ's Illustrations," by Wolcott Calkins, D. D., has just been published by Thomas Whittaker, who has nearly ready "The Four Evangelists in Classic Art," edited by Rachel A. La Fontaine. The latter volume will be embellished with over a hundred half-tone reproductions of famous paintings.

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"The Weird Orient," being a series of mystic tales by Henry Iliowizi, is in press at Henry T. Coates & Co.'s. The author has attempted to put into concrete shape some of the traditions and legends in which the Orient is so fruitful, and which have not hitherto found their way into print.

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"England, Egypt and the Soudan," by the late H. R. Traill, is shortly to come from the press of E. P. Dutton & Co. The work, which will contain several maps, gives a comprehensive resume of the latter day history of the Nile Valley from the time of Mahomet Ali to the death of the Khalifa.

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Henry Holt & Co. will publish at once the first volume of "A History of Political Parties in the United States," by Prof. J. P. Gordy, of Ohio State University, which covers the period, 1787-1899; "The Puppet Show," a novel of to-day, laid in England and on the Continent, by Miss Marion Bower, author of "The Story of Mollie."

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Silver, Burdett & Co. will publish shortly "The Duke of Stockbridge," a romance of Shay's rebellion, by Edward Bellamy, which originally appeared in a country newspaper in 1878 just before the success of "Looking Backward" made him famous.

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The Century Company will publish early next month Richard Whiteing's "Paris of To-day," with all of André Castaigne's illustrations; "Colonial Days and Ways," by Helen Everston Smith, with illustrations by Harry Fenn and decorations by T. Guernsey Moore; "My Winter Garden," a new book by Maurice Thompson, who writes of the beauties of the shores of the Gulf of Mexico; also Albert Bigelow Paine's "Bread Line," the story of the attempt of three young journalists to start a weekly paper in New York.

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One of the latest—we do not venture to say the latest—translators of Omar is Professor F. York Powell, who has tried his hand at a few of the Rubaiyat. His "XXIV. Quatrains from Omar," as published by Mr. M. F. Mansfield, makes a very pretty little book, but the verse is tame at the best, and we cannot understand what could have persuaded any one to compose or to publish it.

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Frederick A. Stokes Company announce that Marchmont's "A Dash for a Throne" and "By Stroke of Sword" have reached a sale of sixty thousand copies. Among their earliest fall publications will be Bullen's "The Men of the Merchant Service"; and later this gifted writer will have a story of the religious life of the sailor to be entitled "With Christ at Sea." Some months before his death T. W. Hall completed "Heroes of Our Revolution," which will be brought out as a companion volume to Clinton Ross's successful "Heroes of Our War with

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Albert Lea, Minn., Nov. 8, 1899.

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From Mrs. Amanda Shumaker, who has charge of the Grammar Department

of the Public Schools, of Columbia City, Wash., also Past Grand of Independent Order of Good Templars. Dr. Hatman received the following letter:

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Mattie B. Curtis.

Spain"; and George Bird Grinnell has written for boys, a sequel to "Jack the Young Ranchman," to be called "Jack Among the Indians." Other works announced include John W. Bookwalter's "Siberia and Central Asia"; "Oliver Cromwell, His Life and Character," by Arthur Patterson; Baden-Powell's "Sport in War," for which many publishers competed; Clement Scott's "Ellen Terry"; and H. R. Well's "Love and Mr. Lewisham."

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Joel Chandler Harris has resigned his position as editorial writer on the Atlanta, Ga., *Constitution*, and will devote his entire time to literary work. Mr. Harris' new book "On the Wing of Occasions," will be published shortly by Doubleday, Page & Co. The stories (one a novelette of 30,000 words on "The Kidnapping of President Lincoln") all deal with "unwritten history" of Civil War times, without any actual fighting, but introducing many details of the elaborate Secret Service. The volume is perhaps chiefly notable in adding another irresistible character to those imperishable figures like "Uncle Remus" and "Aunt Minervy Ann," which Mr. Harris has already given us. "Mr. Billy Saunders," the old Georgia countryman, who goes to kidnap the President, has a supply of funny stories

which rivals Lincoln's own, and his shrewd homely humor is most characteristic.

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For descriptive pamphlet, time of connecting trains, stop-over privileges and further information apply to nearest ticket agent, or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—Advt.